1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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circumstances under which the material in this report was collected.

On arriving at Petats I started immediately to work on the language, and was making good headway when I decided to move to Kurtatchi. Here I had to begin afresh upon a new dialect. The vocabulary differs considerably from that of Petats, but as the syntax is similar, my previous work was not altogether wasted. Beginning by making use of pidgin-English, with which all the younger men (but not the women nor the older people of either sex) were familiar, I gradually substituted the native dialect for conversational and working purposes, and eventually was able to use it with some degree of freedom in the give and take of everyday life, and for writing down what my informants told me. For this purpose I used a simplified form of the International Phonetic System. When taking down stories, and anything else that required to be recorded verbatim, I had little difficulty in getting the narrators to speak at a pace which I was able to follow with my pen.

None of these people had any acquaintance with standard English, pidgin-English being the universal medium of converse between them and the whites. As interpreters, I chose carefully the men who possessed the best knowledge of pidgin-English. One man, Matarē (whose photograph appears in Pl. 11), in particular was very useful to me, being interested, careful, and more articulate than the others. With him, and some others, I went over the greater part of my material (omitting, of course, information given to me in confidence), interlining my note-books with a pidgin-English translation, in the course of which I was able to get unfamiliar words explained to me, thus often opening up some new line of inquiry. Unfortunately for me, the local dialects differ almost from village to village, so I was obliged to fall back on pidgin-English as a lingua franca whenever I worked outside a limited area. In such cases I had to content myself with taking down in dialect the key words only.

At Petats I lived in the rest-house which is maintained for the use of Government officials. At Kurtatchi I had a house built specially for me. I was given a site in the new part of the village, facing two lines of huts. There the villagers, working under my direction, constructed a house and outbuildings which proved admirably suited to my needs, with a good verandah, from which I could watch what was going on in the village while I wrote up

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XVI

DREAMS

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THE collection of native dreams which forms the subject of the present chapter was made in accordance with a suggestion from Professor C. G. Seligman that I might pay some attention to this aspect of native life while in the field. Being without the special training necessary to record and deal with the material from the standpoint of the psycho-analyst, I can do little more than give a descriptive account of the dreams I was able to obtain, quoting them in full[1] as far as seems practicable in the hope that taken in conjunction with the background supplied by the other chapters of this book, they may provide material which those better qualified than myself may turn to better purpose.

SCOPE OF THE COLLECTION

The dreams in my collection comprise 91 verbatim reports of actual dreams, almost all taken on the morning after their occurrence, and 21 recollected dreams, gathered in course of conversation; among these latter are included experiences of the informant, beginning: 'Once I dreamt that . . .' or 'I sometimes (or often) dream that . . .' and also, in a few cases, general statements, beginning: 'We dream that . . .' (using the exclusive form of the personal pronoun).

The dreams in the former category were from both sexes, the numbers being as follows: 49 were dreams of men, 11 of boys, 22 of women, and 9 of girls. In several cases more dreams than one were obtained from the same individual, the number of individuals concerned being 23 men, 8 boys, 13 women, and 5 girls. The dreams in the second category were obtained from men only. These figures are given merely to indicate the size and scope of the collection; they have no significance as regards the distribution, since the personnel was made up on the haphazard principle of getting hold of any one who was available. The numbers are, of

[1] Dreams given in full are numbered. Quotations in the text without numbers are portions of dreams only. The numbers are arbitrary and given merely for convenience of reference.

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course, far too small to permit of any satisfactory generalizations being made from them, but as collections of the dreams of a primitive people are as yet few and far between, a few comments may perhaps be permissible.

METHOD OF COLLECTING AND RECORDING

The great majority of the dreams in my collection were obtained in the village of Kurtatchi, but I took what opportunities came my way of discussing the subject of dreaming in other places which I happened to visit. The 'remembered dreams' were usually obtained in this way. The verbatim reports were noted down the morning after their occurrence, and all the dreamers were personally known to me. It was my custom to take a walk round the village every morning after breakfast, during which I would sit chatting on the verandahs of various houses, and in the course of conversation would ask if any one had had any dreams on the previous night. No inducement or reward of any kind was offered. I used to tell them my own dreams, and found that they soon became interested and eager to tell me theirs. Sometimes they would come to my verandah to tell me dreams they had had during a daytime siesta. No special characteristics appear to belong to these as distinct from those dreamed at night. I have also heard them telling dreams to one another, just as we do. Only once, in the case of the 'incest' dream (No. 5, p. 563), was there, for reasons which will be obvious, any reluctance to tell a dream; in this case the speaker, though anxious to unburden himself of it, needed sympathetic encouragement and an assurance that no one could overhear, before he finally gave it.

Some of the dreams were written down a short time after the conversation, but the great majority were written as they were told. I had accustomed my friends to talking to me at such a pace that I was able to follow them in writing, and my note-taking did not appear to cause them any uneasiness. During the early part of my work the dreams were recorded in pidgin-English; afterwards I used the Kurtatchi dialect. After the dream had been recorded the dreamer was asked whether he considered the dream a good one or a bad one, and why. Usually it was not possible to elicit any further explanation, but occasionally incidents in the dream would be related by the dreamer to something that had happened recently. Attempts to carry out the technique suggested by Dr. Seligman

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126 (1923, p. 188) as regards point (*c*), which requires that 'the
159 dreamer should be asked of what each incident or figure makes him think', met with little success, the usual response being 'I thought it was true'.

FREQUENCY OF DREAMING

154 No data as to the frequency of dreams among these people can
159 be obtained from my collection, as even had I carried out my inquiries with more regularity than circumstances did in fact permit, it would still have been impossible to take note of the whole of any one person's dreaming, and there could be no check upon the completeness of the record. It is my impression, however, that, on the whole, dreams were much less frequent than among ourselves, so far as my limited experience goes, though I understand that very great individual differences occur in our own society. It is noteworthy that on more than one occasion the reason alleged for not having dreamed was that the previous day had been one on which nothing particular had happened. It is certainly a fact that on the morning after a day of excitements, such as the ceremony in the taro garden described in Chapter IX, there was always a number of dreams to record. It should perhaps be added that such days of excitement are, as a rule, accompanied by the consumption of more food than usual, including quantities of taro-and-coco-nut pudding, not an everyday article of diet, and certainly not markedly easy of digestion. One man said that he only dreamed when he played around a lot, or went down to the beach where there were rocks and caves. The explanation of the latter condition may lie in the fact that many of these rocks and caves are supposed to be the haunts of *urar*, and are thus connected with feelings of fear which may give rise to dreams in which the *urar* figure.

THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF DREAMS

828 An endeavour to ascertain the ideas current among these people as to the cause of dreams elicited the following replies: 'You sleep, something goes away out of your head, when you wake it comes back.' 'The men who have died before send dreams to you when you sleep.' 'When we dream, the people who are dead come and
828 talk to us.' 'In dreams we go and stay with the people who are
774 dead.' 'I think when we dream our *abin* go and stand up with all the men who fought in the old days' (*abin* is the word used for a

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3. *Climbing a tree or going uphill.* ('Success, often sexual.')

Seven examples, if we include a dream of climbing a rope that went up into the sky. In two of these the climbing of the tree was followed by falling from it, and this was regarded as the more significant part of the dream, foreboding death. In others the tree is climbed in order to escape from a pursuer; these are bad dreams.

4. *Loss of a tooth or teeth.* ('Death of a near relative.')

Not related as an actual dream of the night before, but statement made in discussion: 'If I eat a lot at night I sometimes dream all my teeth have gone away. In the morning I feel for them and they are still there.' No particular significance appeared to be attached to this dream, but one informant who reported it said it was a good dream, because some one would say to him, 'Oh, you are an old man now.' It is possible that the dream is regarded as good because of the greater prestige attaching to the elder men which was thus attained by the dreamer.

5. *The Œdipus dream.*

One clear example of this as 'manifest content' of dream, if 'extended to include connexion with any relative within the forbidden degrees of the people concerned' (Seligman, 1923, p. 188). For further discussion of this question see p. 563.

6. *Raw Meat.* ('Forebodes disaster, possibly death.')

Five examples, in all cases the meat being pig, which is cooked and eaten in the dream. In two of these there is definite mention of its being 'cut up', in the others this is implied. Always said to be a good dream 'because we had pig to eat'. The idea of disaster is definitely not associated with this dream.

7. *Dream of being incompletely clothed.* ('Goes back to childhood.')

Does not occur in my collection. Absence may be accounted for by the fact that these natives habitually wear little or no clothing.

CLASSIFICATION OF INCIDENTS IN THE DREAMS ACCORDING TO THEIR 'MANIFEST CONTENT'

Since it is of interest to the student of native psychology to determine how far the dreams of primitive people resemble our own, the 'manifest content' of the dreams in my collection will now be considered in some detail, and an attempt will be made to

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126 associate them, as far as possible, 'with the life and beliefs of the dreamer', as suggested in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929 159 ed., p. 172).

As among ourselves, many of the dreams consist of a succession of incidents, apparently unrelated to one another, but each quite clear and definite in content. It is, therefore, impossible to get an adequate idea of their contents by classifying only the dreams as a whole. I have, therefore, listed the more definite of the incidents in the dreams separately, and for the present will consider each of these as an isolated entity, without reference to the rest of the dream in which it occurs. The numbers are, of course, too small to be significant, but the list as a whole is, perhaps, indicative of the general trend of native dreaming. Inferences regarding the distribution of the subject-matter of dreams according to the age and sex of the dreamer are also unsatisfactory owing to smallness of numbers, but these particulars are given where they appear to be relevant.

Classification of incidents according to 'manifest content'

Subject	*Number of incidents*
(*a*) Death and *urar* (spirits of the dead)	39
(*b*) Incidents of everyday life	20
(*c*) Incidents with sexual implications	18
(*d*) Food and eating	14
(*e*) Fighting, beating, or being beaten	14
(*f*) Incidents involving animals (other than as food)	13
(*g*) Going a journey	11
(*h*) Falling from a height	9
(*i*) Climbing or going uphill	7
(*j*) Sleep	6
(*k*) Trying to move and being fixed to the spot	5
(*l*) Physical disabilities	5
(*m*) Urination and defaecation	4
(*n*) Childbirth and suckling	3
(*o*) Going into water to wash	3
(*p*) Flying	3
(*q*) Ceremonies and dances	3

(*a*) *Death and* urar.

159 Of the 39 incidents in this category, 22 deal with *urar*, i.e. spirits of people long dead, and not personally identifiable by the

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932

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FOLK STORIES FROM THE NORTHERN SOLOMONS.

[*Read at a Meeting, 20th January, 1932.*]

114 THE stories which form the subject of the present paper were collected between September 1929 and October 1930, while I was living among the natives of Buka and Bougainville, the two most northerly of the Solomon Islands.[1] The first three months were spent on the small island of Petats, off the west coast of Buka; the remaining nine on the north coast of Bougainville, mainly at a village called Kurtatchi, with excursions into the surrounding country as opportunity offered. In consequence of the work of the Methodist [117] Mission, the people of Petats have come to a considerable extent under White influence, but the village of Kurtatchi is still comparatively little affected by contact with the White Man. The examples here given are selected out of a large number, obtained chiefly in these two villages, but as I also took every opportunity of recording stories heard in the course of visits paid to other localities in company with my native friends, my collection is probably fairly representative of the tales told throughout Buka and the northern portion of Bougainville.

● 126 As a guarantee of good faith, I will first give some account of the circumstances under which the stories were obtained. After my evening meal, I used to hang up my hurricane lantern on that side of my verandah which served as my study. Very soon a little group of natives would gather

[122] [1] My work in the Solomon Islands was undertaken as part of a programme of field studies initiated by the Institute of Human Relations, University of Yale. My most grateful thanks are due to the Institute for the generous financial support accorded me. The University of Oxford granted me leave of absence from my Demonstratorship in order that I might take advantage of this opportunity.

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
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●126 round it, and when I had settled myself with note-book and pen, one of them would begin a story, this would remind someone else of another, and so it would go on, almost without a pause, sometimes far into the night, till I broke up the session out of sheer sleepiness. Judicious supplies of tobacco and areca nut were circulated from time to time, but it is only fair to say that the tales were told out of real interest in the telling, and were appreciated by the natives as much as by myself. Everyone in the village, old and young, male and female, took part in these sessions at one time or another, and while I endeavoured to obtain stories as much as possible from the older people, I never turned away the younger ones, even the children, when they volunteered a story. The extent to which the younger generation took part in the story-telling, their sustained interest, and their accuracy in matters of detail, when verified by versions obtained on other occasions from older people, assured me that these tales do actually play a part in the life of the village, and are at present in no danger of being forgotten.

One customary rule affected the composition of my group of story-tellers and audience. The boys wearing the hat of palm leaves which indicates that they have not yet completed their puberty ceremonies, *i.e.* all the boys from the age of seven or eight up to the later teens, are by strict prohibition debarred from any but the most distant association with the women. The presence of any of these boys on my verandah prevented the women from being there. I was therefore obliged to set aside evenings on which boys were not permitted to take part in the proceedings, in order to give the women their turn. The older men, of course, attended on all occasions. I do not think there was any noticeable difference in the character of the stories told by the two groups. The women were hardly less eager to come forward as story-tellers than were the men, for though some of them made a pretence of bashfulness, they would generally yield to a little encouragement. An analysis of the

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contents of one of my note-books, picked at random, shows 126
that out of 49 stories, old or elderly men were responsible
for 12, old or elderly women for 10, young men for 11, young
women for 14, a boy and a girl for one each.

At the outset of my work I took down the stories in [198]
Pidgin English, with which many of the younger men were
acquainted as they had worked as indentured labourers on
coconut plantations. From these I chose, as carefully as I
could, those who seemed best suited to act as interpreters
for the older men, the stories being translated sentence by
sentence.

The dialect spoken on the island of Petats has been re- 126
duced to writing by Rev. A. H. Cropp, who has for many 212
years been working on Buka as Methodist Missionary.[1] He 177
used our own alphabet, adapted by means of certain con-
ventions to fit the sounds of the language. Some of the
younger men have learnt to write under his tuition. One
of these wrote out for me, in the Petats dialect, several
stories as told by his father, an old man of considerable
standing. Except for these, the stories I collected on
Petats and Buka were all taken down in Pidgin English.

During my stay at Kurtatchi, however, I accustomed 126
myself to the use of the native dialect, on which no previous
work has been done. I employed a simplified form of the
International Phonetic System, but without attempting to
record the finer shades of pronunciation, in which there is
considerable individual variation. The natives soon learnt
to talk slowly enough for me to write from their dictation,
and at the end of a story I read out what I had written to
the assembled company, who were not slow to correct me
when I made a mistake. Then, or subsequently, I went over
the text again, sentence by sentence, with one of the natives
who spoke good Pidgin English, writing down the Pidgin

[1] Mr. Cropp very kindly allowed me to make use of his MS. dictionary and grammatical notes on the Petats dialect, which have been of great assistance to me.

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126 English translation between the lines of dialect, and adding notes in explanation of anything that was obscure. I thus have a large collection of texts in the dialect spoken at Kurtatchi, which proved of the greatest service to me in studying the language for practical use in the field, and could, if required, be utilised for comparative purposes. I [197] am not concerned with linguistic problems in the present paper, but I may perhaps mention that while the vocabulary of the Kurtatchi dialect differs widely from that of Petats, there are certain similarities of construction, both being of Melanesian stock. Unfortunately, every small group of villages has a dialect of its own, so that whenever I worked outside the immediate vicinity of my own village I was obliged to have recourse to Pidgin English again.

128 I have endeavoured to make the translation as literal as 198 possible, even to the point of crudeness, whether I have translated from the native dialect or from Pidgin English. Perhaps it is worth while to point out that Pidgin English, as used in that portion of the South Sea Islands with which I am acquainted, makes frequent use of constructions based on those of native speech, and is capable, within certain limitations, of representing the original with reasonable accuracy both as to form and spirit. It is therefore a not altogether inefficient medium in which to work. The style of the stories differs somewhat with different narrators, some joining their sentences more freely than others, and some showing great fondness for the repetition of long or short passages, a device common to tellers of folk-tales among all peoples.

121 There can be no question that the collecting of such stories is a very valuable tool in the hands of the field worker. Apart from the interest shown by the natives in the telling of them, and their value as linguistic material, the subject matter often suggested to me lines of enquiry which, when followed up, either at the conclusion of the story or at a more convenient season, as circumstances

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TREATMENT OF THE SICK IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS[1]

114 121 During a residence of twelve months among the Melanesians of the north-western Solomon Islands, I had frequent opportunities of watching the natives treat one another for various forms of illness, and of collecting specimens of the plants and other substances which constitute their materia medica. The purpose of this paper is to place on record information given me by the natives themselves. No attempt will be made to deal with the subject from the standpoint of the medical practitioner, a task for which I am not qualified.

114 ●126 My information was obtained chiefly from the villages of Kurtatchi and Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville. It was recorded verbatim in the local dialect, and a sample of each plant was collected at the same time. Unfortunately the incompleteness or imperfect preservation of many specimens rendered their identification impossible. Many of the prescriptions were given by more than one individual independently, or the technique might be the same while the plants differed. For some of the commoner ailments, people seemed to have their own favourite remedies, as do country folk in England. Some of these are secret and were imparted to me in private, others appear to be widely known.

754 757 It is sometimes said that primitive people regard every kind of sickness as the result of black magic. No one could be more conscious, or more terrified, of the power of black magic, which he calls "bad medicine" or "poison," than is the Solomon Islander, and he is not slow to ascribe his misfortunes to the machinations of some ill-disposed person who has "made poison"

[122] [1] This paper is based on data collected between Sept. 1929 and Oct. 1930 on the islands of Buka and Bougainville, the most north-westerly of the Solomon group. I am indebted to the committee for research on problems of sex, National Research Council, Washington, D.C., for the opportunity of studying these primitive people, to the experts at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for the identification of my botanical specimens, and to Prof. C. G. Seligman for useful comments.